

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 SAJ-01 SAM-01 ACDA-05 EB-07

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 CU-02 ARA-06

DHA-02 ORM-01 AF-06 OPIC-03 /104 W

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R 151733Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5602

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 15864

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PGOV, PO, UK

SUBJECT: CDS REPRESENTATIVE AT CONSERVATIVE PARTY

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REF: LONDON 15349

SUMMARY: PRODESSOR FREITAS DO AMARAL, LEADER OF PORTUGUESE CDS, SPOKE AT FRINGE MEETING HELD DURING CONSERVATIVE PARTY COLFERENCE AT BLACKPOOL OCTOBER 9. FREITAS STRESSED STRENGTH OF CDS IN PORTUGAL AND LEGITIMACY OF ITS CLAIM TO PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED HELP AND ASSISTANCE BRITISH CONSERVATIVES HAVE GIVEN HIS PARTY. HIS GENERAL PICTURE OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND PROGNOSIS FOR THE FUTURE WERE HIGHLY PESSIMISTIC. END SUMMARY

1. PROFESSOR FREITAS DO AMARAL, LEADER OF PORTUGUESE CDS, WAS INVITED GUEST OCTOBER 9 AT CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONVENTION HELD IN BLACKPOOL. FREITAS WAS NOT INVITED TO ADDRESS THE CONVENTION AND INSTEAD SPOKE AT A "FRINGE" MEETING ORGANIZED BY FEDERATION OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS. MEETING WAS PUBLICIZED AND WELL-ATTENDED.

2. IN HIS ADDRESS, FREITAS DESCRIBED PRESENT DISILLUSIONMENT WITH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL AFTER APRIL 25, 1974. CAREFULLY NOTING THAT ARMY HAD BROUGHT ABOUT FALL OF PREVIOUS REGIME, FREITAS CITED FOUR MAIN FACTORS WHICH EXPLAINED CURRENT DIFFICULTIES: INABILITY OF MILITARY TO GOVERN, REVOLUTIONARY DETERMINATION AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY, POWER AND STRENGTH OF EXTREME LEFT-WING MOVEMENTS, AND DISINTEGRATION OF ARMED FORCES AND POLICE THROUGH INDISCIPLINE AND "PERMANENT POLITICAL DISCUSSION."

3. FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL IS MULTI-DIMENSIONAL, FREITAS SAID. IT IS A FIGHT AGAINST SOME AFM LEADERS WHO SEEK SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY ONLY, AGAINST COMMUNISTS WHO WANT PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, AGAINST ANARCHISTS, TROTSKYITES, AND MAOISTS WHO WANT CHAOS, AND AGAINST PUBLIC DISORDER, INDISCIPLINE AND CRIME.

4. MAKING A TOKEN BOW IN DIRECTION OF PSP AND SOARES, FREITAS SAID THEY ARE DOING A GOOD JOB BUT ARE NOT ALONE IN THE STRUGGLE. THOSE FIGHTING FOR TRUE DEMOCRACY IN-
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CLUDE CDS, POPULAR DEMOCRATS, CATHOLICS AND THE CHURCH, MONARCHISTS, SOME OF THE MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE AFM, MAN-IN-THE-STREET, AND THE PEOPLE.

5. WITH REGARD TO ELECTIONS OF APRIL, IT IS TRUE THAT SOCIALISTS SECURED 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, BUT IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE SUPPORTED NON-COMMUNISTS AND NON-SOCIALISTS. "DEMOCRACY DOES NOT

BEGIN AND END WITH THE SOCIALISTS."

6. FREITAS SAID THAT CDS HAD BEEN SPECIAL TARGET OF "OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL VIOLENCE", AND HE LISTED SACKING OF PARTY HEADQUARTERS, SHORTAGES OF FINANCES, AND INTERRUPTION OF CDS PUBLIC MEETINGS (HERE HE CITED VISIT OF CONSERVATIVE LEADERS LADY ELLES AND GEOFFREY RIPPON TO ABORTIVE OPORTO CONFERENCE). SUCH INSTANCES WERE NOT ACCIDENTAL BUT PART OF COMMUNIST POLICY TO ELIMINATE NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES. MARXISTS FEAR CDS, BECAUSE OF ITS ATTRACTIVE APPEAL AND LEADERSHIP, WOULD BECOME ONE OF THE LARGEST PARTIES IN PORTUGAL. WITH CDS DESTROYED, COMMUNISTS WOULD HAVE MOVED TO ATTACK AND DESTROY PPD ALD PS, BUT CDS HAD NOT BEEN DESTROYED AND WAS STRONGER THAN BEFORE.

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

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INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

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7. FREITAS SAID CDS IS CENTER PARTY BELONGING TO EURO-
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PEAN UNION OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. CDS PROGRAM IS
NORMAL, SIMPLE AND CLEAR. IT IS THE ONLY PORTUGUESE
PARTY WHICH DOES NOT DESCRIBE ITSELF AS SOCIALIST. CDS
BELIEVES MORE IN THE INDIVIDUAL THAN STATE, IN FREE EN-
TERPRISE AND PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND SUPPORTS WITHOUT RES-
ERVATION NATO, COMMON MARKET AND EUROPEAN UNITY. CDS
REPRESENTS DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

8. FREITAS SAID PRESENT COALITION GOVERNMENT CONTAINS
SAME ELEMENTS OF DISUNITY AND INCOHERENCE WHICH BROUGHT
DOWN PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS. IT IS MADE UP OF DEMOCRATIC
AND NON-DEMOCPTIC PARTIES, OF LIBERALS AND TOTALITARIANS
AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT A WESTERN-TYPE DEMOCRACY OPPOSED
TO THOSE WHO WANT A "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY."

9. CDS, ON THE OTHER HAND, OFFERS A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNA-
TIVE, SINCE IT HAS NOT BEEN IN GOVERNMENT AND HAS CLEAN
HANDS. CDS IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR A DISORDERLY COLONIAL
WITHDRAWAL, FMR MILITARY INDISCIPLINE, OR FOR THE ECONOM-
IC CRISIS. CDS STANDS FOR REASONABLE, VIABLE, AND WELL-
TESTED MODEL MF SOCIETY--TRUE DEMOCRACY AND MIXED ECON-
OMY. PUBLIC OPINION IN PORTUGAL SEEKS A CHANGE AWAY
FROM UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, DEVALUATION, DISORDER,
REFUGEES, VIOLENCE AND LACK OF AUTHORITY.

10. FREITAS SAID BRITISH SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS
BECAUSE OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF AN
EVENTUAL COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN PORTUGAL ON SPAIN, ON
SOUTHERN EUROPE, IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND EVENTUALLY IN
BRAZIL AND LATIN AMERICA. TO COUNTER THESE DEVELOPMENTS,
FREITAS ASKED FOR CONCRETE POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL AID

TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES MATCHING THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVIET BLOC. CDS HAS BEEN GRATEFUL FOR THE HELP OF THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND THAT OF EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE GERMANS. DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ARE FIGHTING A VERY DIFFICULT BATTLE BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND FASCISM, AND FREITAS ASKED FOR UNDERSTANDING, FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT. SUPPORT SHOULD BE TODAY FOR TOMORROW COULD BE TOO LATE.

11. IN QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION FOLLOWING HIS
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SPEECH, FREITAS SAID HE HAD HAD PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH CONSERVATIVE SHADOW SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MAUDLING, IN WHICH MAUDLING PROMISED TO HELP PORTUGAL. THE QUESTIONER HAD SUGGESTED THAT MAUDLING WAS UNINTERESTED IN PORTUGAL AND THAT THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY NEEDED A MORE ACTIVE SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY. FREITAS ALSO AGREED THAT JOINT VISITS BY CONSERVATIVE AND LABOR MPS TO PORTUGAL WOULD BE USEFUL.

12. AFTER THE INCIDENTS OF 3 OR 4 MONTHS AGO, FREITAS REPORTED THAT BBC BROADCASTS TO PORTUGAL ARE NOW "IRREPROACHABLE", BUT SUGGESTED THAT BROADCAST TIMES OF BBC SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH DEUTSCHE WELLE IN ORDER TO AVOID CONFLICT.

13. FREITAS SAID CDS THOUGHT AFM SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM POLITICS, WITH THOSE AFM FIGURES WHO PREFERRED POLITICAL ACTIVITY BEING MOVED OUT OF THE MILITARY. HE ALSO SAID THAT PORTUGUESE POLICE SHOULD BE REORGANIZED WITH A DISTINCTION CLEARLY DRAWN BETWEEN POLICE AND MILITARY FUNCTIONS.

14. ON GENERAL SPINOLA, FREITAS SAID CDS HAS NO RELATIONS WITH THE GENERAL SINCE HIS DEPARTURE FROM PORTUGAL AND DOES NOT KNOW THE DESIGN OF HIS NEW MOVEMENT.

15. REGARDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE CDS, FREITAS SAID THE LAW PROHIBITS DIRECT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN PORTUGAL. THIS HAS WORKED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, AND FREITAS DESCRIBED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CULTURAL EXCHANGE INITIATIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE IN THIS RESPECT. SINCE THE REVOLUTION PORTUGAL HAS BEEN FLOODED WITH CULTURAL PERFORMANCES FROM THE EAST WHILE THE WEST HAS SENT MOSTLY PORNOGRAPHY. FINANCIAL RETURNS FROM THE EASTERN BLOC'S CULTURAL PERFORMANCES GO DIRECTLY TO SUPPORT THE PCP.

16. FREITAS DESCRIBED COMMUNIST STRATEGY TOWARDS EUROPE
AS A VARIED PROGRAM INVOLVING ELECTORAL MEANS (ITALY AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 15864

FRANCE), THE TRADE UNIONS (UK), AND A COMPLETE RANGE OF
POLICIES IN PORTUGAL WHERE COMMUNISM TRIES A LA CZECH-
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OSLOVAKIA TO PEDUCE NON-COMMUNIST PARTY STRENGTH, AND
THE UTILIZATIMN OF THE ARMED FORCES A LA CUBA IN CON-
VERTING THEM INTO URBAN GUERRILLAS. COMMUNIST POLICY
APPEARS TO HAVE QUIETED SOMEWHAT SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT OF
THE NEW GOVERLMENT. THE COMMUNISTS NOW SEEM TO BE
FOCUSING ON PPOMOTING DISORDER AND INDISCIPLINE THROUGH
ORGANIZATION MF JOINT (I.E., CIVIL AND MILITARY) DEMON-
STRATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

17. PORTUGALS FUTURE, ACCORDING TO FREITAS, IS HARD TO
DESCRIBE BECAUSE OF THE FAST TEMPO OF DEVELOPMENTS. "ANY
THING OR EVERYTHING CAN HAPPEN" WITH THE POSSIBILITIES
OF ANARCHY, COMMUNIST COUP, A COUP FROM THE RIGHT, CIVIL
WAR AND EXTREME ANARCHY. PARTICULARLY UNDER THESE CIR-
CUMSTANCES THE CDS WISHES TO BECOME BETTER KNOWN OUTSIDE
PORTUGAL. IT REQUIRES FURTHER HELP ON AN IMMEDIATE
BASIS. THE EFFECTS OF A COMMUNIST VICTORY IN PORTUGAL
WILL UNDOUBTEDLY LEAD, ACCORDING TO FREITAS, IN DOMINO
FASHION TO A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN SPAIN POST-FRANCO,
FURTHER COMMUNISTADVANCES IN FRANCE AND ITALY, FURTHER
WEAKENING OF NATO, PRESSURE OF COMMUNIST ADVANCES INTO
THE NORTH ATLANTIC (MADEIRA AND THE AZORES), AND ULTI-
MATELY INCREASING COMMUNIST STRENGTH IN BRAZIL AND
LATIN AMERICA,

18. COMMENT: FREITAS MADE A VERY GOOD IMPRESSION ON
HIS SYMPATHETIC AUDIENCE. HE CAREFULLY AVOIDED BEING
TRAPPED INTO A COMMITMENT ABOUT MAUDLING'S EFFECTIVENESS
AS SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY, A CONTROVERSIAL MATTER
WITHIN THE PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, FREITAS WAS COOL
AND CORRECT IN HIS REFERENCES TO SOARES WHO ONLY RE-
CENTLY APPEARED IN BLACKPOOL. FURTHERMORE, WHEN AN
EMOTIONAL MEMBEROF THE AUDIENCE SUGGESTED TAKING UP A
COLLECTION AT THE DOORS, FREITAS SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD
TO ACCEPT ITBUT FOR THE ANGOLAN REFUGEES AND NOT THE
CDS.

19. FULL TEXT OF HIS REMARKS ARE BEING POUCHED TO DE-

PARTMENT AND LISBON.

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